

Message Text

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ACTION SS-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 NEA-10 AF-10
IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 NSCE-00 USIE-00
INRE-00 DHA-02 MCT-01 ARA-10 EA-07 /106 W
-----029022 132304Z /70

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FM USDEL SECRETARY AIRCRAFT

TO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

THE HAGUE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG IMMEDIATE

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

USUN NEW YORK ROUTINE

USNATO BRUSSELS ROUTINE

AMEMBASSY LONDON ROUTINE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTO 08171

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS)

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE PLO ACCEPTANCE OF RESOLUTION 242

1. ACTION ADDRESSEES SHOULD APPROACH HOST GOVERNMENTS AT
APPROPRIATELY HIGH LEVEL TO MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS:
--MEMBERS OF THE EC-9 WILL HAVE SEEN RECENT PRESS REPORTS
THAT USG IS PREPARED TO ESTABLISH OFFICIAL CONTACT WITH PLO
IF THAT ORGANIZATION ACCEPTS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242
AND ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST. THIS WAS THE SUBJECT OF
CONDIDERSBLE DISCUSSION BY THE SECRETARY IN ALL CAPTIALS
VISITED DURING HIS JUST-CONCLUDED MIDDLE EAST TRIP. WE
ALSO DISCUSSED THIS WITH THE BRITISH DURING SECRETARY'S STOPOVE IN
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LONDON, AND WE WANT SIMILARLY TO INFORM OTHER MEMBERS
OF THE NINE OF THE BACKGROUND OF THIS DEVELOPMENT, AND
OF WHERE MATTERS NOW STAND.

--ARAB GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN PRESSING US FOR SOME TIME,
INCLUDING DURING VISITS OF MIDDLE EAST LEADERS TO
WASHINGTON OVER RECENT MONTHS, TO BEGIN OFFICIAL DIALOGUE
WITH THE PLO AND TO AGREE THAT PLO SHOULD BE INVITED

TO A RECONVENED GENEVA CONFERENCE. IN RESPONSE, WE
CONSISTENTLY MADE TWO POINTS:

2. QUESTION OF ADDITIONAL PARTICIPANTS IN GENEVA
CONFERENCE IS NOT UP TO USG ALONE; UNDER ORIGINAL GROUND
RULES OF CONFERENCE, ALL ORIGINAL PARTICIPANTS MUST AGREE
ON EXTENDING INVITATION TO NEW PARTIES TO PARTICIPATE.
GIVEN ISREAL'S ADAMANT OPPOSITION TO NEGOTIATING WITH
PLO, MOST REALISTIC ALTERNATIVES WE SEE ARE EITHER
INCLUSION OF PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVES IN JORDAN
DELEGATION OR A UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION WHICH COULD
INCLUD ORIGINAL ARAB PARTICIPANTS PLUS PALESTINIANS
AND LEBANON. THERE IS DEVELOPING CONSENSUS AMONG ARAB
PARTICIPANTS FAVORING CONCEPT OF UNIFIED DELEGATION.
ISREAL CONTINUES TO OPPOSE CONCEPT OF UNIFIED ARAB
DELEGATION.

3. USG CANNOT ENTER DIALOGUE WITH PLO WHILE LATTER
REFUSED TO ACCEPT RESOLUTION 242 AND ISRAELS'S RIGHT TO
EXIST.

--ARAB GOVERNMENTS HAVE CLEARLY BEEN GIVING CONSIDERATION
TO THIS PROBLEM AND, DURING SECRETARY'S TRIP, THEY ALL
DISCUSSED WITH US POSSIBILITY OF A FORMULA FOR PLO
ACCEPTANCE OF RESOLUTION 242. FORMULA PRESENTLY UNDER
DISCUSSION BETWEEN ARAB GOVERNMENTS AND PLO WOULD
INVOLVE EXPLICIT ACCEPTANCE OF RESOLUTION242 INCLUDING
REFERENCE TO THE RIGHT OF ALL SATES IN THE AREA TO
EXIST IN PEACE WITH A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING THAT
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"ALL STATES" INCLUDES ISRAEL. IN ADDITION, FORMULA COULD
INCLUDE A RESERVATION BY THE PLO THAT RESOLUTION 242 DOES
NOT DEAL ADEQUATELY WITH PALESTINIAN QUESTION, SINCE IT
REFERS TO PALESTINIANS ONLY AS REFUGEES AND DOES NOT
REFER TO THE NEED FOR A PALESTINIAN HOMELAND.

-- WE HAVE TOLE BOTH ARABS AND ISRAELIS THAT IF
PLO MAKES SUCH A STATEMENT, WE ARE PREPARED IMMEDIATELY TO
ENTER INTO OFFICIAL DISCUSSIONS WITH IT. IT IS IMPORTANT,
HOWEVER, THAT IN DOING SO, PLO SPOKESMAN NOT IN EFFECT
NEGATE SUCH STATEMENT BY ANOTHER STATEMENT -- E.G.,
AFFIRMING THAT PALESTINE NATIONAL CHARTER, WHICH DENIES
ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST, REMAINS VAID. IN OTHER WORDS,
STATEMENT BY PLO TO BE ACCEPTABLE MUST CLEARLY
REFLECT CHANGE IN PLO POLICY.

-- ISRAELIS ARE OPPOSED TO OUR ESTABLISHING CONTACT WITH
PLO EVEN IF IT MAKES AN ACCEPTABLE AND UNAMBIHIIOUS
STATEMENT, BUT WE HAVE MADE CLEAR TO THEM THAT WE WILL
ENTER OFFICIAL CONTACTS IF AN ACCEPTABLE STATEMENT IS
MADE.

-- WE HAVE SEEN THE REPORTS THAT SOME GOVERNMENTS ARE
CONSIDERING POSSIBILITY OF PROPOSING THAT RESOLUTION 242
BE AMENDED TO INCLUDE PALESTINIAN "RIGHTS" OR "HOMELAND"

OR "STATE." INTERALIA THERE HAS BEEN DISCUSSION OF
SUCH ACTION AMONG SOME ARAB AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS
IN NEW YORK. WE BELIEVE ANY EFFORT TO AMEND RESOLUTION
242 WOULD OPEN A PANDORA'S BOX AND WE WOULD OPPOSE SUCH AN
EFFORT AND, IF NECESSARY, VOTE AGAINST IT.

-- WE VBELIEVE IT IMPORTANT TO HAVE MAXIMUM COORDINATION
AND COOPERATION ON THIS QUESTIO WITH OUR EUROPEAN
FRIENDS.
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